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An Episode

of the

Sullivan Campaign

and its

Sequel



By

Mary Cheney Elwood



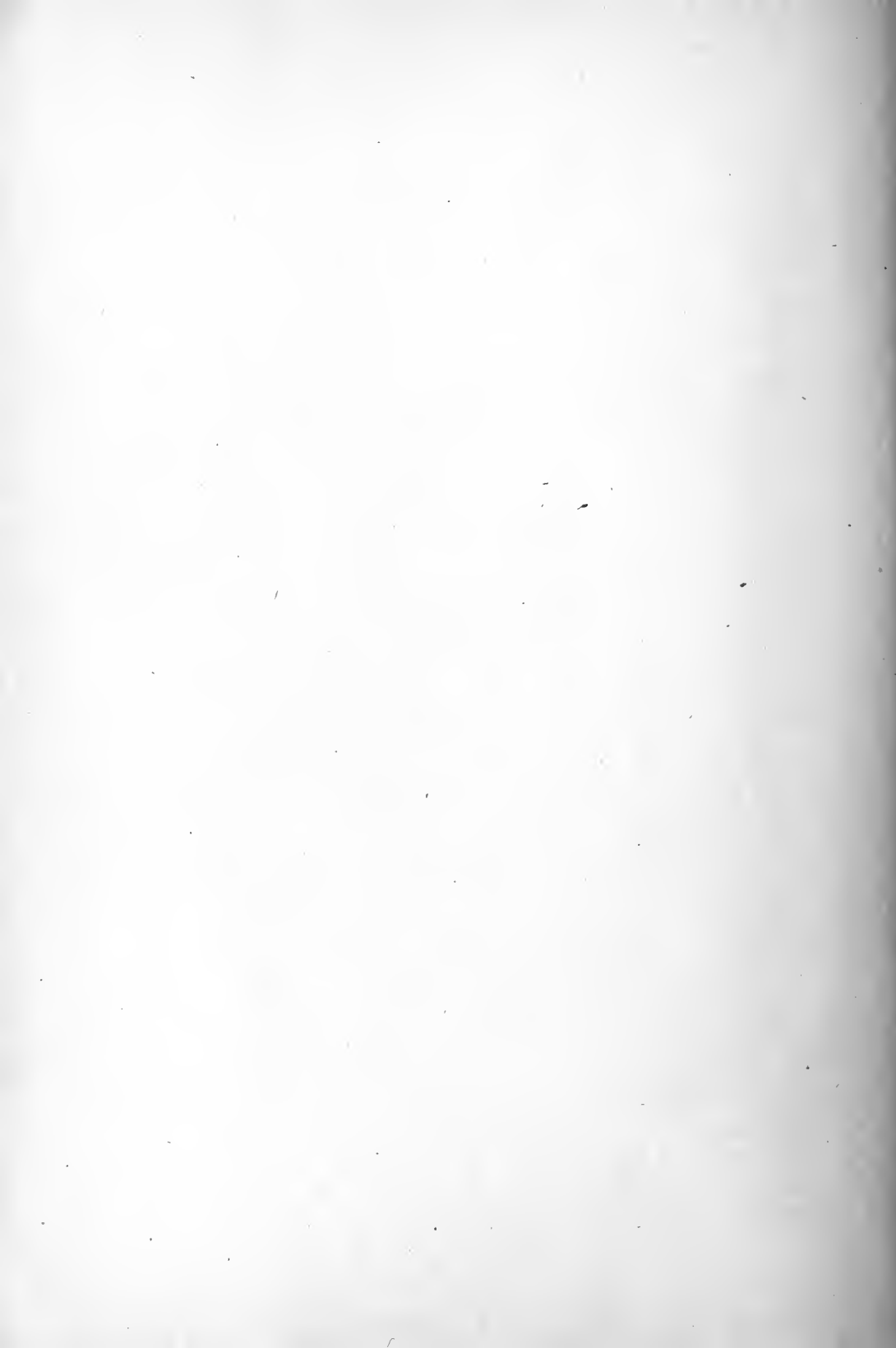


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By Mary Cheney Elwood

Rochester, New York

1904

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AN EPISODE OF THE SULLIVAN CAMPAIGN AND ITS SEQUEL



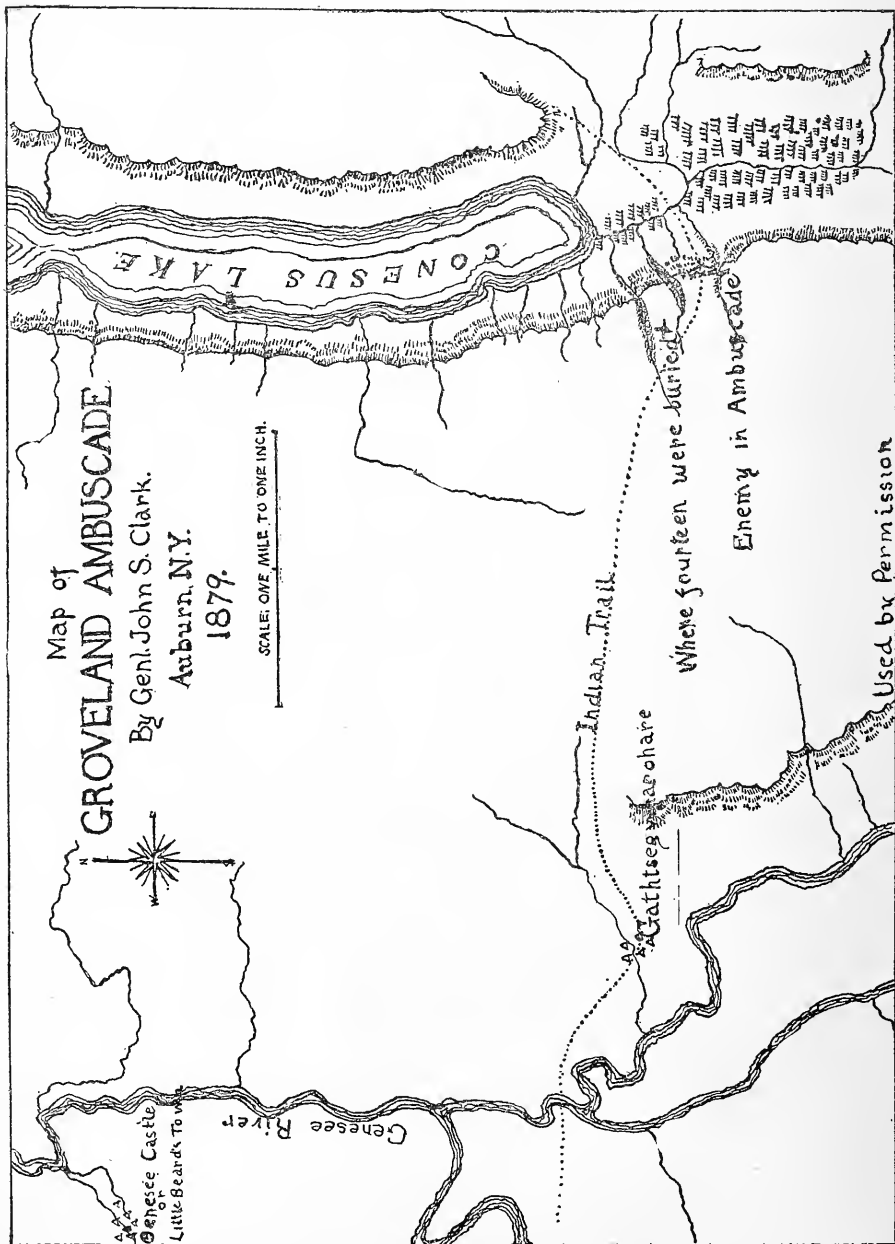
FTER the destruction of Andrustown, German Flats and Cherry Valley and during the winter of 1778-9, numerous bands of Indians, and Tories disguised as Indians, were constantly prowling around the border settlements, killing many of the settlers and committing many depredations upon their property, thus keeping them in an unceasing state of terror and apprehension. This condition of affairs very seriously interfered with the tide of emigration that was beginning to flow westward and prevented the settlement and development of the western portions of New York and Pennsylvania. General Washington became thoroughly convinced of the necessity of instituting a vigorous campaign against these marauding bands and of pushing the action into the heart of the enemy's country if possible. The subject was formally brought to the notice of Congress and that body, on the 27th of February, 1779, passed a resolution authorizing General Washington to take such measures as promised to be most effectual for the protection of the border settlers.

In

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In the early part of 1779 it was determined to make a combined movement into the Indian country of Western New York and Pennsylvania, with two strong divisions of military, one from Pennsylvania and one from the North, at a season of the year when the corn fields and orchards of the tribes of the Six Nations were fully laden with grain and fruits, the purpose being to destroy their supplies and drive them from their settlements, thus leaving them destitute, and prevent them from furnishing supplies to the British garrison at Niagara. General Sullivan was placed in command, leading in person the division that ascended the Susquehanna, while General James Clinton commanded the forces that penetrated from the eastward by way of the Mohawk Valley, the two divisions meeting on August 22, 1779, at Tioga.

Upon August 26th the army broke camp and took up its march into an unknown country, through dense forests into the very heart of the enemy's home, with very little to guide them, as the only available maps were imperfectly drawn, and by men who knew little or nothing about the new country. The devastation and ruin wrought upon the Indian settlements by this little army are too well known to recount in detail and we will pass over the intervening events until the 10th of September, when the division reached the village of Kanandarqua (Canandaigua). In a few hours this beautiful little town was reduced to ashes. Hanneyaye or Anyeaya (now Honeoye), the settlement lying next in the path of the invaders, was soon destroyed. Here
a post



a post was established and left in charge of a strong garrison and here also were left the heavy stores and one or two field pieces, while the command, thus lightened, proceeded toward Genesee Castle, which was the great village of the Senecas and was often called Little Beard's Town, after its chief. On Evans' map it appears as Chenandoanes and was located between the west bank of the Genesee river and the present village of Cuylerville, in the town of Leicester, Livingston county. So far, with the exception of the battle at Newtown, fought on the 29th of August, the Indians had fled before the army in terror and their villages were destroyed without an effort being made to defend them, but now the beautiful valley of the Genesee, that paradise of the Six Nations, was in danger. A hurried council of the villages of the plain was called and the now thoroughly alarmed Indians resolved, at all hazards, to defend their homes from further invasion.

On the morning of September 12th, when General Sullivan reached his encampment, he supposed that he was near the great Genesee Castle, of which he had heard so much and which was really the objective point of the expedition. He ordered that an officer and three or four riflemen, together with Hanyerry, an Oneida chief, acting as guide, should make a hasty inspection of the surrounding country and report at headquarters not later than sunrise on the following morning. Lieutenant Thomas Boyd was the officer selected for this service because of his peculiar fitness for the work, based upon his experience in scout duty during the
Mohawk

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Mohawk campaign, at Oriskany and elsewhere. It was here, however, that Boyd departed from the strict letter of his instructions. He took with him twelve riflemen, six musketmen of the Fourth Pennsylvania regiment and eight volunteers, making, with himself, Hanyerry the guide, and Captain Jehoiakim, a Stockbridge Indian, twenty-nine men. This was his first mistake, for the number was too few if battle was intended and too many if secrecy and haste were expected. Hanyerry, the Oneida chief, had proven his unwavering attachment and faithfulness to the American cause in many ways. He was selected as guide for Boyd and his little band, not because of any knowledge of the surrounding wilderness but on account of his thorough understanding of Indian habits and Indian methods of warfare. The little party left camp bravely with the full knowledge and realization that they were surrounded by dangers of every kind. They followed the trail but a little way when it divided and, having no accurate information as to their exact location, hesitated and then took the trail leading to the important town of Gatht-seg-war-o-ha-re, two miles further up the Canaseraga, instead of the path leading to the abandoned Che-nus-si-o. The site of the former village is now occupied by a country seat known as "The Hermitage."

Reaching this place in the early morning Boyd halted and with one of his men, Timothy Murphy, reconnoitered. They found evidences of the town having been recently abandoned in haste and he sent four of his

his men back to General Sullivan to report his discoveries. Soon four Indians on horseback were seen entering the village. One of these Indians they killed while the other three escaped, one of them being badly wounded. Boyd's fate was doubtless sealed from that hour, as the alarm and the warning must have been speedily spread throughout the hostile lines. Boyd immediately set out on his return to camp, but, after marching about five miles, he again halted and despatched two men to the general, informing him of his whereabouts and announcing his determination to remain there and await the coming up of the army, as his men were too exhausted from the hard and rapid marches in the heat, to make it possible for them to press on further. The two messengers, however, soon returned, reporting that they had seen a party of five Indians on the trail. Boyd instantly resumed his march, soon overtook the Indians, fired upon and pursued them. This was entirely in opposition to the advice of Hanyerry, who realized that the crafty foe would probably lead them into ambush. Thus the brave but rash young commander made a second grave mistake, for the guide's advice proved to be worthy of full confidence.

As he had foreseen, the flying Indians led the command within the enemy's borders and before Boyd was aware of it he and his men were surrounded by a force which has been variously estimated at from 500 to 800 Indians and allied Tories. Again and again they made desperate efforts to escape, but without
success

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success; for what could such a pitiful handful of men do warring against such fearful odds. They fought valiantly, every moment expecting relief from the approaching army, which came, alas, too late!

Boyd and Parker were captured and taken to the Indian stronghold called Little Beard's Town, which is near the present village of Cuylerville. Here they were plied with many questions as to the strength and position of the various divisions of Sullivan's command, but they resolutely refused to answer or to give any information as to the situation of our forces. Again and again they were interrogated, but to no purpose. They could doubtless have purchased their release by giving the information the enemy sought and they quite as surely apprehended what must be the cost of their refusal. But they were not formed of the stuff of which traitors are made and, like the heroes they were, would not speak the words which would have given to them life and liberty. They were then subjected to a series of the most inhuman and revolting tortures, the bare recital of which causes the bravest heart to quail and the bravest cheek to blanch. Mangled and mutilated, torn, cut and bleeding from the hands of their fiendish captors, but with lips still sealed, faithful to their sacred trust, human fortitude had reached its ultimate limit and they laid their noble lives upon the altar of loyal duty and patriotism. According to Craft's chronicle, Boyd was, at the time of his death, 22 years old. He had enlisted as a sergeant in Captain Stephen Bayard's company from Derry, Pennsylvania

Pennsylvania, in January, 1776, and was transferred to Captain Matthew Smith's company the following November, and in January, 1778, was made captain-lieutenant in the First Pennsylvania regiment. Soon after, with other riflemen, he was detached from his regiment and joined Colonel Butler's, and subsequently served under Major Parr. "He was of fine physique, engaging manners, brave almost to recklessness, he was endowed with the qualities which would command attention, without the cool judgment or firmness which would fit him for a leader."

Michael Parker was a corporal in the First Pennsylvania regiment, from which he was promoted to sergeant in Captain Simpson's company.

Upon the entry of the army into Little Beard's Town, on September 14th, the remains of Boyd and Parker were discovered, and we read from the journals of the officers that the spectacle of their mangled bodies made even those strong, brave men, accustomed as they were to all the horrors of savage warfare, sicken and turn away from the pitiful sight. That night the remains were buried with military honors under a clump of wild plum trees at the confluence of two small streams whose union formed Beard's Creek.

All the members of Boyd's command except his fellow prisoner, Sergeant Parker, fell upon the field where they had so desperately and hopelessly fought. On the 16th of September Captain William Henderson of the Fourth Pennsylvania regiment, with sixty men detailed for the purpose, found the bodies of the
fourteen

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fourteen men who were slain, including that of Hanny, who was literally hacked to pieces, and buried them with suitable honors. They were buried in a trench on the exact scene of the massacre. The journals of the officers differ slightly as to the number that were slain, but historians generally accept fourteen as the correct number, exclusive of Boyd and Parker. All the men in this little band were of dauntless bravery, fighting fiercely to the end. During the Revolution there were, no doubt, many instances of heroism and devotion as conspicuous as that of Lieutenant Boyd and his detachment, but this massacre, having occurred right here in our own valley of the Genesee, cannot fail to appeal most forcibly to our local interest in this most tragic episode of the Sullivan campaign. This was the nearest approach made to our own home by the stirring scenes of the revolution and we cannot but commend the foresight of our Rochester ancestors in their attempt to preserve the graves and honor the memory of the patriots of 1779 in 1841, to which period we have now brought our narrative.

Henry O'Reilly, born in Carrickmacross, Ireland, settled in Rochester in 1826 and established the "Advertiser," the first daily newspaper west of Albany and which later, merged with the "Union," became the "Union and Advertiser" of our time. He was a man of liberal education and broad culture, a ready writer and eloquent speaker, and was public spirited to a degree. He became enthusiastically attached to this city of his adoption and for many years his pen and voice were

were constantly employed in developing and advancing the interests of the rapidly growing city, and his influence was a power in the community. While preparing his volume entitled "Sketches of Rochester," which was published in 1838, his attention was directed to the fact that the martyrs of Sullivan's expedition, who fell at Groveland, lay in neglected and unhonored graves, neglected and unhonored by the very people, in the defense of whose liberties they had sacrificed their lives.

Strange, is it not, that a man of alien birth should be the first to awaken the slumbering patriotism of our citizens and direct their action on this subject? It was discussed privately and publicly as the result of his agitation until, on the 3d of July, 1841, there appeared in his paper an editorial article which brought the matter to a focus, and which I quote :

"The proximity of our national anniversary naturally excites reflection respecting the services of those bold spirits, whose patriotic course in field and council were blessed by Heaven to the establishment of American liberty. Unworthy would we be of the freedom we are enjoying, were we to prove forgetful inheritors of blessings secured through the storm and bloodshed of our glorious revolution! The national honor would have been consulted by more liberal provision for the soldiers of that memorable strife. But as time rolls by—thinning their ranks with its unsparing scythe—the survivors, like the Sybilline leaves, increase in public esteem as they diminish in number.

"There

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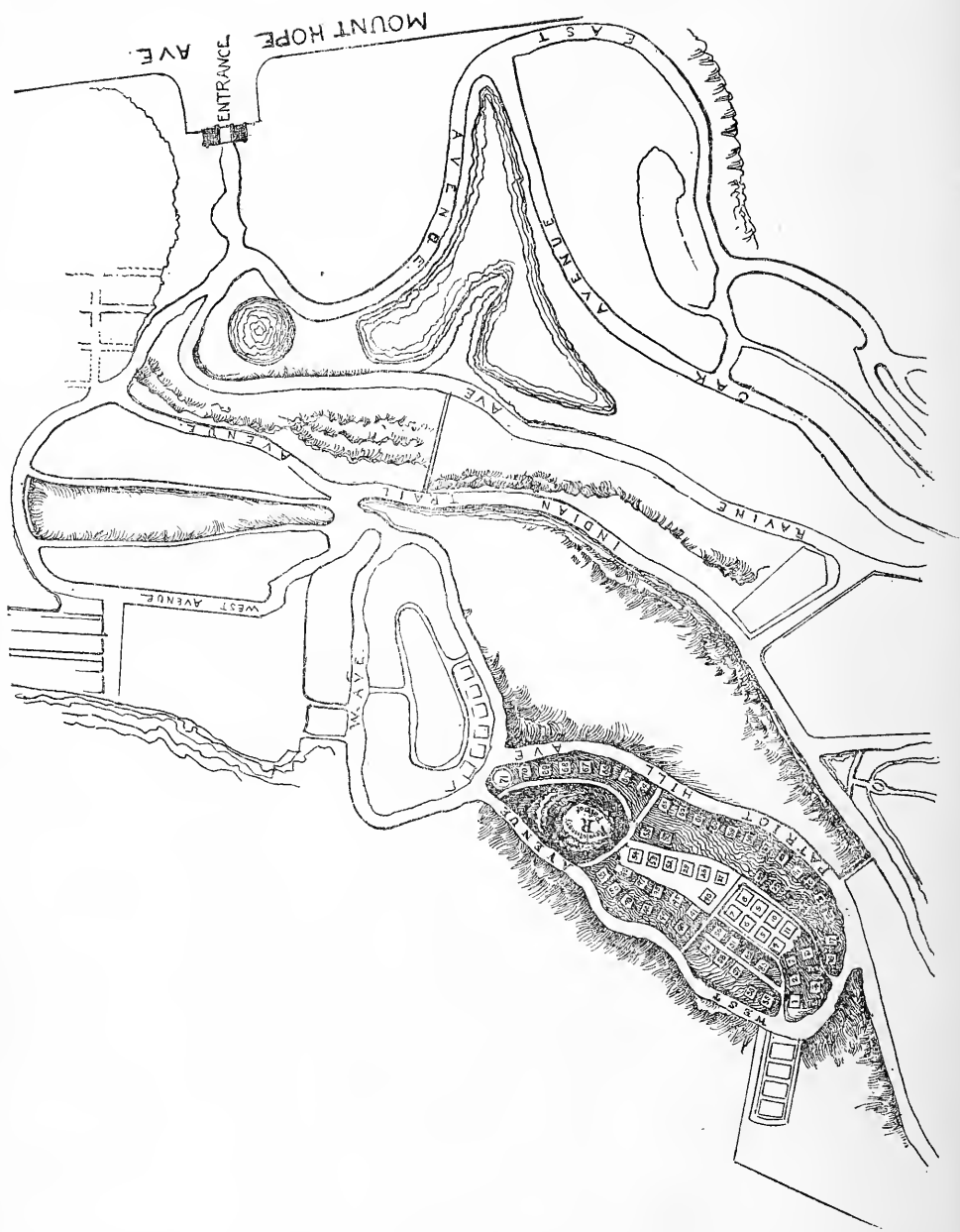
“There were those who fell fighting our battles, whose memory has not been fully considered by the inheritors of the liberty for which they fought. This valley of the Genesee contains the relics of a gallant officer who bore arms for the republic against the former savage occupants, when they were leagued with British red-coats in desolating our frontiers with fire and sword.

“The mouldering relics of that ill-fated warrior slumber now in an obscure grave, almost unknown, as it is without any memorial to apprise the passing traveler that beneath rests the gallant Boyd, the slaughtered officer in the advance guard of Sullivan’s army.

“The heroic valor of Boyd would be worthy of admiration under any circumstances ; but when we know that that valor was displayed in behalf of American liberty, and that his gallantry and his slaughter are identified with the history of the Genesee Valley, how much stronger are those claims rendered which impel us to testify our love for his patriotism, our sympathy for his fate, by some public testimonial of his worth, and of the gratitude of his country !

“It may be that our Rochester companies, recognizing promptly all claims of honor and patriotism, will make an excursion this summer to remove the mouldering remains from their lonely grave to our beautiful Mount Hope, and award the last military honors by a proper monument to the martyred soldiers.”

It needed only this suggestion from the press immediately to fire the community with enthusiasm. Mount
Hope



Map of Mount Hope Cemetery, 1846, Showing Location of Revolutionary or Patriot Hill.

Hope had recently been acquired by the city as a cemetery. It had been beautifully laid out and was a just source of pride to the citizens of the growing city. It was suggested to petition the Common Council to set aside a certain section of the grounds where the Sullivan martyrs could be interred, as well as all other revolutionary soldiers who died in or about Rochester, rather than erect a memorial over the grave of Boyd and Parker in Livingston county, the argument against the latter course being that at the junction of the two creeks where they were laid, the encroaching waters were slowly but surely washing away the banks to such an extent that in a few years more, it was feared, the site would be entirely obliterated. The several military organizations of Rochester immediately took up the idea, called special meetings and thoroughly approved the plan of the proposed removal, and a general committee was chosen with Henry O'Reilly as chairman and James L. Elwood as secretary.

On July 31st the Common Council appointed a special committee of three to meet the general committee for the purpose of formulating arrangements for the removal of the remains, Aldermen Aaron Erickson, Henry Cady and Joseph Field being appointed as the members of such committee. The Common Council records also show that on July 27th a memorial was presented from the several military corps and a number of prominent citizens, asking for the appropriation of a part of Section R in Mount Hope as a burial place for soldiers who had served in the
revolution

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revolution. The communication was referred to the committee on Mount Hope, with power to act. This same body, on August 13th, 1841, also received a communication from the general committee of arrangements inviting the council to attend the solemnities to be held on August 20th and 21st, which was accepted.

The people of Livingston county, within the borders of which the ashes of the heroes lay, at first objected to the proposed removal, but at a meeting held in Genesee on August 14th, which was largely attended by the leading citizens of the county, it was resolved "that we duly appreciate the praiseworthy and patriotic exertion of the citizens of Rochester in establishing in the cemetery at Mount Hope a suitable place for public interment in Western New York of such of the revolutionary patriots as helped fight the battles of our country."

"Resolved, that a committee be appointed to make all necessary arrangements for the purpose of conveying to Cuylerville the remains of those soldiers of Lieutenant Boyd's detachment who fell at Groveland, in time for the services of the 20th." In pursuance of this resolution the committee was appointed and numbered some of the most distinguished names in the county. They zealously coöperated with the representatives of the city of Rochester in favoring the projected removal and proposed ceremonial. In fact, great interest was manifested throughout the entire Genesee Valley and a universal desire was expressed to aid in every way in contributing to the dignity and solemnity of the occasion.

On

On the 7th of August members of the Rochester and the Livingston county committees found the remains of Boyd and Parker near the edge of the bank at the junction of the two streams and within fifty feet of the road between Cuylerville and Geneseo, at precisely the spot that had always been indicated as their resting place. They were buried together about eighteen inches below the surface, which was overgrown by the roots of dead plum trees. Dr. Thaddeus Garlock, formerly of Canandaigua, but then living in Cuylerville, examined the bones as they were unearthed and pronounced them parts of two human skeletons. No trace of one skull was found, clearly indicating that they were the bones of Boyd and Parker, both of whom were beheaded by the Indians, the head of Lieutenant Boyd being found after the massacre in one of the Indian huts. The nose and ears had been cut off, the eyes plucked out, and it had been scalped, but was at once recognized by several of his friends, because of its long silky hair. It was replaced, at the time of the burial, by two of his officer comrades, Captain Simpson and Captain Thomas Campbell* of the Fourth Pennsylvania.

The bones of the two revolutionary heroes were disinterred in the presence of some twenty or thirty members of the committee, among whom were Henry O'Reilly, William H. Cheney and George Byington of Rochester, Colonel William T. Cuyler and S. L.

Phelps

*See narrative of Captain Campbell in "Arnold's Campaign against Quebec," by John Joseph Henry, p. 118, published by Joel Munsell, Albany, 1877.

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Phelps of Cuylerville and Captain David Shepard of Geneseo. The relics were placed in the care of a member of the committee at Cuylerville and soon after sealed in a large urn. This urn was turned from wood by George Beardsley and painted white to represent marble. Subsequently the Livingston county committee caused to be erected over the spot whence the remains were taken, a cairn or pyramidal mound of stones. At the time of the ceremonies on the 20th, a resolution was introduced by Henry O'Reilly and unanimously adopted by the thousands present, naming the two streams Boyd's Creek and Parker's Creek, "to commemorate the names and services of those martyrs through all time, while grass grows and water runs." On the sixteenth of August the Livingston county committee located and disinterred the remains of the members of Boyd's command who were buried on the field where they fell at Groveland. These were carried to Cuylerville and enclosed in a stout wooden case, also made by Mr. Beardsley and spoken of by the local chroniclers of these events as "the sarcophagus."

On the afternoon of August 19th a delegation consisting of five military companies, the committees with invited guests and two brass bands left Rochester in a flotilla of six boats via the Genesee Valley canal. Mayor Elijah F. Smith with a number of prominent citizens proceeded to Cuylerville in carriages. The delegation arrived at Mount Morris on the following morning, breakfasted and returned to Cuylerville. A number of the distinguished guests were entertained at the home

home of Colonel Cuyler, located on a hill just above the village. On the hill was a grove of immense trees overlooking the valley, and it was in this grove, early in the afternoon, that the committees, guests and several thousand spectators assembled, many of them attracted from long distances. A procession was then formed and the remains of the martyrs were brought to the grove to the solemn measures of a dirge. The venerable Major Moses Van Campen, then aged 85 years, was called upon to preside. He had been a schoolfellow of Boyd's and was his companion in arms in the Sullivan expedition. Beside him on the platform was Captain Elnathan Perry, aged 80, also a member of Sullivan's army, and Paul Sanborn, aged 79, who, as the troops entered Little Beard's Town, was the first to discover the mutilated corpses of Boyd and Parker while the blood was still flowing from their wounds and who had also assisted at their burial. There were also present upon the platform a number of other revolutionary soldiers. The ceremonies opened with prayer, and a dirge by one of the military bands, followed by an eloquent oration by Samuel Treat of Geneseo. The chairman, Major Van Campen, then made a brief speech feelingly recounting his love for Boyd and rehearsing the circumstances of his death, contrasting the scene before them with that of the day before the massacre, when all were full of hope and action. He ended by making the final surrender of the hallowed relics of the heroes, as a sacred trust, into the keeping of the Rochester delegation. Mayor E. F. Smith

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F. Smith accepted the charge in appropriate words. "A trust," he said, "which imposed on the citizens of Rochester the duty of rendering their resting place in that cemetery an appropriate mausoleum for those whose services in the cause of freedom entitled them to honor in death as in life."

The flotilla took its departure from Cuylerville an hour before sunset and arrived at Rochester at sunrise August 21st, its arrival here being announced by the firing of a national salute. At 10 o'clock a procession was formed on the north side of Buffalo street, the right resting on Elizabeth street and facing the flotilla on the Erie canal. As the remains were borne along the line, the bands played the mournful strains of the "Dead March," the military saluted and the vast concourse of people uncovered and bowed their heads. The line of march was taken up through Buffalo street to Main street, and thence through St. Paul street to Mount Hope. Arriving at the cemetery the soldiery formed a cordon around the base of the hill designated as the resting place of the revolutionary patriots, where the urn and sarcophagus were deposited in their appointed places. The Rev. Elisha Tucker read the burial service of the Episcopal church and delivered a short and impressive address of dedication, closing with these words :

"This beautiful spot on Mount Hope has been generously presented to your committee of arrangements, as a cemetery for the remains of revolutionary soldiers who have died, or may hereafter die, in the
valley

valley of the Genesee ; and we do, therefore, on behalf of the citizens of Rochester and of this valley, and in the name of our country and of our country's God, most solemnly appropriate this ground to that sacred purpose."

Chancellor Whittlesey then introduced Governor Seward, who made a stirring and eloquent address, at the close of which a salute was fired by the soldiers and the great assemblage dispersed, leaving the warrior dead in what, it was fondly supposed, would be their last resting place.

Ah, if some one man on that large committee in 1841 had only had the forethought to have taken a formal deed in trust of that plot of ground and had that deed recorded on the city's records it would have spared many bitter feelings as well as bitter words, and Revolutionary or Patriot's Hill, as it was represented on the official map of Mount Hope, in 1846, would still be in existence and devoted to the sacred use to which "it was forever set apart and dedicated."

Would that the chronicler's duty might have ended at this point and that this beautiful spot which the awakened patriotism of our ancestors consecrated had indeed been the last resting place of the heroes.

Probably at no time in the history of this state had partisan spirit in politics run higher than in the early 'forties. The animosities of party strife had reached a degree of bitterness scarcely possible to conceive. Hardly had the echoes of the bugles and drums that marked the solemn pageant at Mount Hope died away,
before

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before the opposition began to manifest itself in many disagreeable ways. The Democrats claimed that this act of honoring and venerating the remains of the revolutionary soldiers was a mere ruse on the part of the then dominant Whig party to bring itself into prominence—the attendance of the governor of the state and his staff and distinguished citizens and survivors of the revolution—the military display with all “the pomp and circumstance”—this posing as the conservators of the country’s glory in honoring its dead heroes, was but a bold bid for public favor and approbation—playing to the galleries, as it were. Not content with maligning the motives of the projectors and furtherers of this patriotic act, all manner of ridicule was cast upon the solemn ceremonies, but the bitterness and vindictiveness of the opposition culminated in casting doubt upon the authenticity of the relics of the patriots brought from Livingston county. It was insinuated that the committee had either been the victims of, or parties to, a wicked fraud, and at one time it was seriously alleged that the bones were those of bears gathered up in an old den that had been recently unearthed. Of course, as in duty bound, the members of the committee replied to these charges of carelessness, bad faith and deception. They showed in detail what solicitous care had been exercised in identifying, beyond the possibility of doubt, the burial spot of Boyd and Parker, as well as that of the victims of the massacre at Groveland and disclosed their many proofs in support of the absolute certainty of their position.

Nevertheless

Nevertheless a bitter controversy of words followed through several weeks until the absolute statements of witnesses, supported by convincing affidavits, put an end to the cavilings and the voices of the doubting Thomases were silenced.

It seems fitting, however, to refer again to the question of the genuineness of the remains lest there be some still living among us who harbor in their minds any lingering doubts. It is, unfortunately, in this world of ours, so much easier to give currency to a false report than to its refutation. A calumny once uttered seems to leave a far deeper impress upon the mind of the hearer than does its denial. As we have said, the committees having the matter in charge used the utmost care in verifying the localities where the bones of the Sullivan victims were laid and spared no pains in availing themselves of all possible means to identify them thoroughly. The diaries of Sullivan's officers, which were singularly full and complete, would have seemed to have left no room for question on this point. They described so minutely and circumstantially the details of the capture of Boyd and Parker, their subsequent tortures, death and burial, as well as the burial by Captain Henderson's detachment of the men under Boyd's command, who fell on the field of the massacre, that they seemed to dispose of any doubt that might have arisen. The bones of Boyd and Parker were found at exactly the spot which history and local tradition ascribed as their place of interment, "under a clump of wild plum trees at the intersection
of

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of two creeks near Cuylerville and by the side of the road leading to Geneseo." The skeletons were found in a shallow grave and one of the skulls was missing, as Boyd and Parker were beheaded by their captors, and Boyd's head only was found.

Then, be it remembered, the spot was positively identified by three officers of the command in which Boyd served, one of whom, Sanborn, had been the man who discovered the bodies and assisted in their burial. They were disinterred in the presence of a number of early settlers of the town of Leicester, who had lived their lives in homes that immediately surrounded the place which local tradition had always marked as the grave of the gallant young officer. No less accurate or certain had been the identification of the trench in which lay the bodies of those who fell at Groveland. This spot had been pointed out again and again by some of the command who found the bodies of the soldiers where they had fallen. Members of the command of Captain Henderson of the Fourth Pennsylvania, who had been sent to bury the dead on the third day after the massacre and had performed that sad duty, carefully noted the exact locality. In addition to this, the marking of the spot had been fully corroborated by some who had been prisoners among the Indians at the time of the slaughter. And again, the remains themselves, when disinterred, offered mute testimony as to their identity in the fragments of military clothing and ornaments and the buttons that were found with them, bearing the insignia of the Continental

tal army. Who could ever have believed for a single moment that such names as those of Allan Ayrault, William T. Cuyler, Henry Swan, Elijah F. Smith and Johnson I. Robbins could have been associated, however remotely, with deception or fraud; who could have believed that such an able, accurate and experienced historian as Henry O'Reilly could have been deceived, or that such an honorable and honored citizen as Judge Treat could have lifted his eloquent voice in the celebration of an untruth?

At the time of the removal it was expected that the wooden urn and sarcophagus would serve but a temporary purpose and that the same interest which had provided for the transfer to Mount Hope would, in good time, provide a suitable and lasting memorial to mark the resting place, superseding the perishable encasements. But it seems that the enthusiasm presently died out with the abatement of the excitement of the hour. After years of exposure to the elements the base of the urn decayed and it fell, breaking open and exposing some of the bones, so that it became necessary to bury them with the others which had been brought from Groveland. The Civil war was now at its height, all thoughts and interests were concentrated upon the fortunes of our armies then in the field, fortunes none too bright in some of those days. This war was real and present and it was little wonder that, living in such stirring times, the thoughts of the revolution became a shadowy memory only. Money was very scarce and everyone was denying himself what
he

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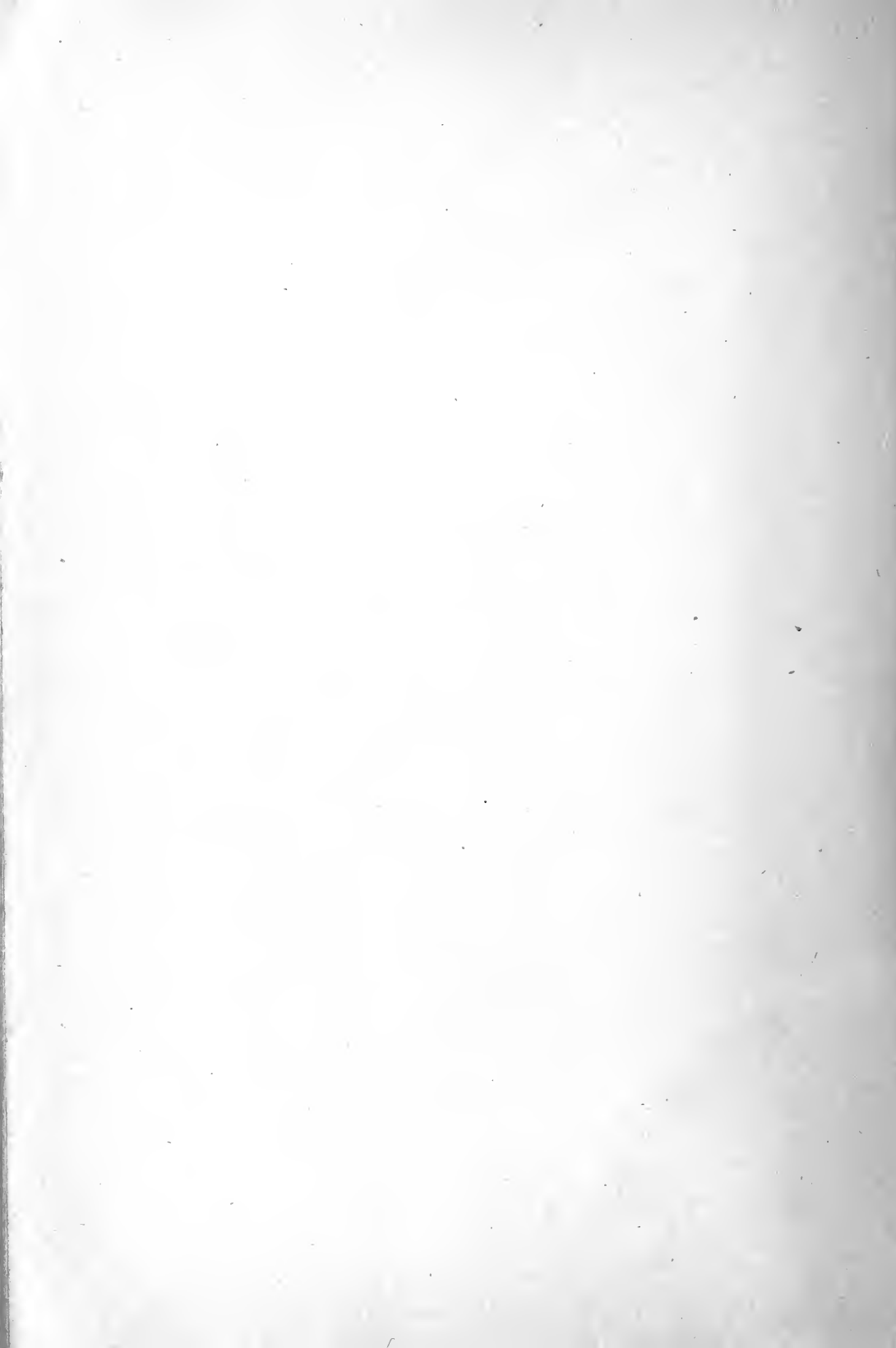
he might, bearing crushing burdens of taxation and saving that he might send comforts to "the boys at the front" and care for the families at home who missed their accustomed bread-winners, and to rescue from poverty the widows and orphans of the fallen brave. These indeed were live issues and, naturally enough, perhaps, Patriot Hill was neglected and allowed to go to ruin. There was little time or opportunity for the sentiment that clusters around olden memories. There were new graves now on the hillsides and slopes of Mount Hope, graves marked with little flags and upon whose mounds were wreaths of flowers kept fresh by the tears that were still flowing and beside which sat hearts that were still bleeding.

The demand for burial lots in the cemetery was much greater than the supply and at this time no money could be spared from the depleted treasury of the city to acquire more land. No one held a title to Patriot Hill. No record of its gift from the city was on file save in the Common Council proceedings of July 27, 1841, where we read that this body set aside part of section R, for the burial of Revolutionary soldiers. The title still vested in the city of Rochester. This lot had become very valuable, too valuable, some of the mercenary ones who then guided the city's affairs, seem to have thought, to be longer dedicated to sentiment or patriotism, for a petition was presented to the Common Council* at its meeting on May 10, 1864, and was reported by the committee on Mount Hope as follows :
" The

*Page 34, volume of Council reports for 1864-8.



Where Bodies of Revolutionary Soldiers Were Found.



“The undersigned committee on Mount Hope cemetery respectively petition for authority to grade and improve the portion of the ground in said cemetery, heretofore set apart by the council for the burial of revolutionary soldiers, and also to sell that part of same not required for the purpose specified,” signed by the committee. On motion, the communication was accepted and adopted. We see that permission was given to sell lot 85, section R, but no provision was made officially for the disposition of the bones. There had been but few burials on the plot beside the remains brought from Livingston county in 1841. The records of Mount Hope state that the Rev. Ebenezer Vining was buried from Gates, August 25, 1843, aged 90, died from old age, buried on Revolutionary Hill. Upon the death of Mr. Vining the Second Baptist church of Rochester, of which he was a member, erected a stone to his memory, setting forth his revolutionary service, and placed it on Revolutionary Hill. The records also show that Jacob Hayden was buried from Lancaster street in this city, August 1, 1849, aged 87 years, buried on Revolutionary Hill. Henry Darling was buried from Court street in this city, October 6, 1849, aged 90 years, buried on Revolutionary Hill. Also, John Terington was buried from Main street in this city, January 1, 1850, aged 90 years, died from old age, buried on Revolutionary Hill. There was another revolutionary soldier also buried there, whose remains were afterwards removed by friends to another lot.

The

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The Mount Hope authorities had then, as they have now, the right to remove graves from public grounds, to which the city still held the title. This lot was in a portion of the cemetery which had at this time become very desirable and the lots were quite valuable. The superintendent, Chauncey Parsons, acting, it is to be presumed, with authority, had the remains quietly removed to the public grounds in section Y, removing also the headstone of the Rev. Ebenezer Vining, thus leaving a clue that eventually led to the discovery of the bones removed from Patriot Hill. One of the first acts of Irondequoit Chapter after its organization in 1894 was the appointment of a committee charged with the decoration of all identified graves of revolutionary soldiers in or about Rochester, on each 4th of July. This act led to an investigation as to why the gravestone of the Rev. Ebenezer Vining was in the public ground in section Y, and resulted finally in the satisfactory identification of the remains removed from Patriot Hill. The graves were found in a terraced lot and showed evidence of having had special attention and care, which had not been given to the others in that section; the graves had been kept mounded up and in perfect order. The martyrs of Sullivan's campaign, with the Rev. Ebenezer Vining's remains, were in four graves lying from north to south, marked by Mr. Vining's stone, while those of Jacob Hayden, John Terington and Henry Darling were lying in graves from east to west in the same relative position they were in on Patriot Hill.

The

The cemetery, until 1866, was under the entire control of the Common Council. The office of superintendent was a political one and, with the changes in the administration of the city, usually came a change in the office of superintendent. In 1866, with the coming in of a new city charter, a commission was created consisting of three members, into whose hands was relegated the entire control of the cemetery. It is only just to call attention to the fact that the controlling power of Mount Hope, as it is now constituted, can in no way, legally or morally, be held accountable for what was done prior to the creation of the commission.

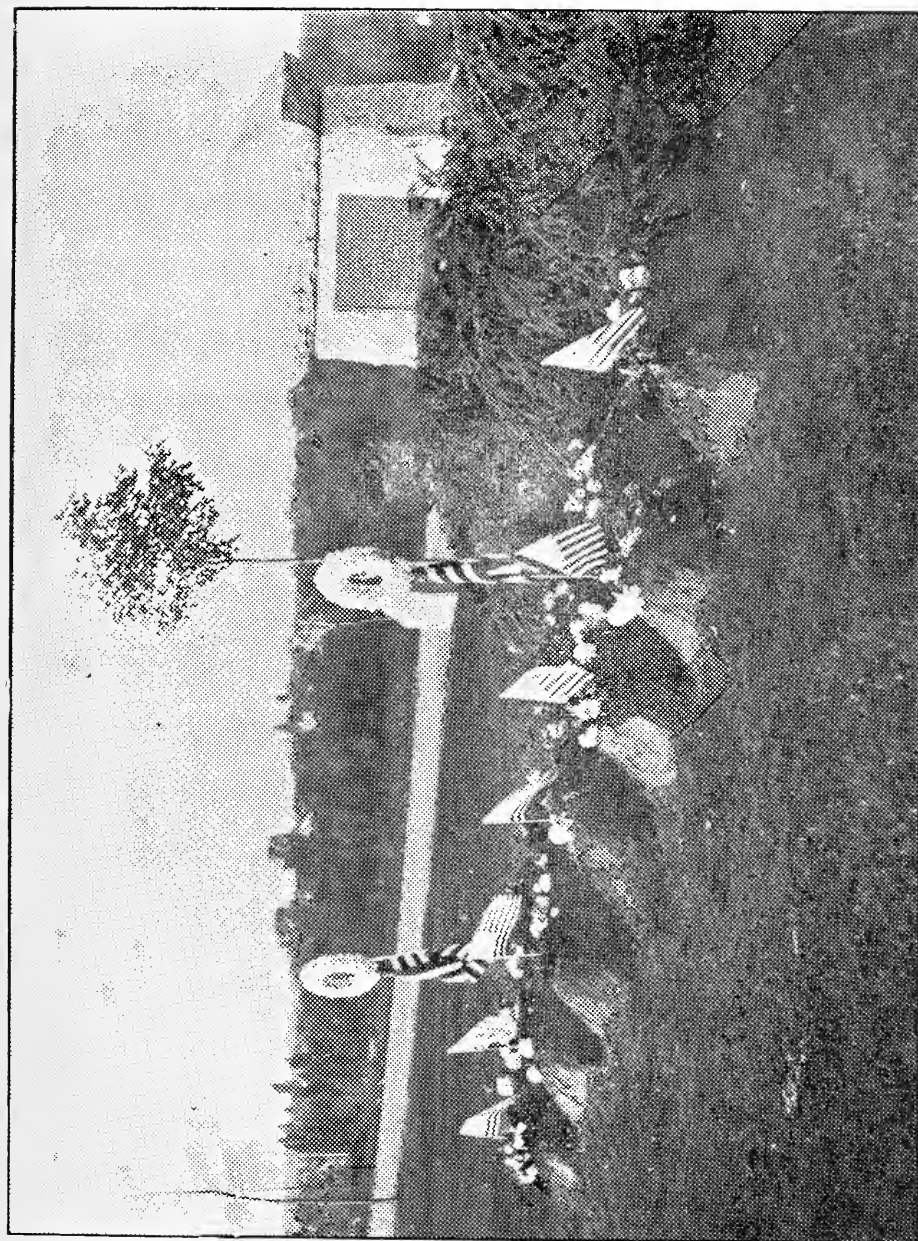
It is difficult to adequately express in words the obligation that is due to Mrs. Josephine Gregg Chappell for the dilligent and patient search she made to find the graves. It is due to Mrs. Chappell that, through her perseverance and energy, the remains taken from Patriot Hill were located. After fully verifying the identity of the graves, a committee was appointed by Mrs. William E. Hoyt, the regent of Irondequoit Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, to confer with a committee from Rochester Chapter, Sons of the American Revolution. The object of this joint committee was to ascertain what could be done to rescue and suitably provide for the permanent care of the remains of these heroes who had so long lain in neglected, unmarked and unhonored graves. The Mount Hope authorities were interviewed and, after several meetings, the commissioners of the cemetery made a deed of gift of the south half of lot 248 in
section

An Episode of the Sullivan Campaign

section BB, to the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, provided that \$100 should be paid in order to ensure the perpetual care of the lot. The deed was duly executed and recorded in the city clerk's office and at the same time a contract for the perpetual care of the lot was executed by Mount Hope. The entire expense of disinterring and removing the bones, which was most carefully and satisfactorily done, was borne by the cemetery.

On October 31, 1903, a committee from the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, with the superintendent, John W. Keller, were present at the opening of the graves and supervised the transfers to the new lot. The martyrs of the Sullivan campaign, with the Rev. Mr. Vining's remains, had been carefully preserved in boxes, showing that they had had proper care in the removal from Patriot Hill. The bones were critically examined and were unmistakably human, forever setting at rest the absurd story as to their being other than human bones. The other three graves were easily identified as those of soldiers, for, in transferring them, ancient army buttons were found. The bones were carefully transferred to strong boxes and were gently and tenderly borne to the resting place where it is devoutly hoped and believed they may never again be disturbed until time is no more and the grave shall give up its dead.

The following day, Sunday, November 1, 1903, being All Saints' Day, was that set apart for the commemorative service at Mount Hope, and it was a day
never



New and Permanent Burial Place of Heroes of the Genesee Valley.



never to be forgotten by those who took part in its simple service. It was the culminating act of many years of patient search. It was the fruition of all that had been long before conceived and undertaken and had been so unflinching and earnestly carried to its successful issue.

Nothing had been forgotten or overlooked by the committee of arrangements or by the commissioners or superintendent of the cemetery that would contribute to the comfort of the guests or to the interest and solemnity and beauty of the service. A number of extra cars were provided, running to the south gate, the road leading thence to the lot was marked by a line of guiding flags, a huge marquee tent had been erected over the lot, the front being turned back facing the graves, and outside a wide space had been roped off to prevent intrusion. An ample force was detailed for special service to preserve order, by the police authorities. The Eighth Separate Company under Captain C. A. Simmons volunteered its service and was present in force with all of its officers and in full dress uniform, formed in two solid ranks across the front of the tent and at the foot of the graves, and a large concourse of interested spectators had assembled all around the enclosure. Within the tent were numbers of Daughters and Sons of the American Revolution, with their invited guests, members of the Grand Army of the Republic and other patriotic societies. The guests of honor were the venerable Mrs. Samuel Treat, late of St. Louis, the widow of Judge Treat,
who

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who had delivered the oration at Cuylerville, on the day of the removal of the remains from Livingston county to Rochester, sixty-two years before, and Mrs. William S. Little, the honored state regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution.

The service opened with a prayer, in thoughtful words which brought tears to many eyes, by Mrs. William A. Montgomery, the chaplain of Irondequoit Chapter. Then came a most impressive singing of "America" by the Daughters, Sons and guests, joined by the spectators. The music was led by a cornet in skilled hands. Never before, I will venture to say, have the hills and groves of that City of the Dead echoed to such a rendering of the beautiful harmony and soul-stirring words of that grand old hymn. This was followed by a spirited address, framed in well chosen sentences and filled with the suggestive lessons of the hour, by the Rev. Murray Bartlett of St. Paul's church. President Rhees of the University of Rochester offered a prayer which, brief as it was, reached every heart, and following was a short address from the Rev. L. T. Foote, who spoke in behalf of the Grand Army of the Republic and closed with the committal from the beautiful ritual of the Grand Army, sprinkling earth into the still open graves, as he recited the solemn words which committed "earth to earth, dust to dust, ashes to ashes." A few moments of absolute silence, then there came three sharp ringing volleys fired with absolute precision by the soldiers of the Eighth, the colors lowered in salute and, after another moment of silence,

silence, "Taps" were sounded by the buglers of the company, and then, while the graves were being filled, a few of the faithful, loving hands that had so patiently wrought and had made the service and the celebration of this day possible, strewed the newly made mounds with rare flowers, and the assemblage quietly dispersed to their homes.

Who could feel but pity, deepest pity, for anyone who looked unmoved upon that scene, who listened to the music or to the words there spoken, with heart not stirred to its very depths? It seemed as if nature had benignantly set her seal of approval upon this tribute to the sacrifice of those martyrs whose blood, an hundred and twenty-four years ago, had hallowed the valley which lay below us. It was one of those radiant late autumnal days, which are the glory of the waning year in this latitude. The scene from the height where the lot is situate commands a wide sweeping view of the valley, the winding ribbon of the river reflecting on its placid surface the soft vault of the sky, the fertile fields and wooded slopes in one direction, the bridges, spires and crowded thoroughfares of the now great city in the other, with the blue waters of Lake Ontario for an horizon. Around and about are giant trees, hedges and shrubbery among which are the mute memorials of the city's dead, the Grand Army's resting place for its soldiers of the Civil war and the city's brave firemen who no longer listen through the watches of the night for the alarm bell. The air was so balmy and still on that afternoon that it scarcely
carried

An Episode of the Sullivan Campaign

carried away the cloud of smoke from the rifles far enough to let it hang in a purple haze in the valley to the north, while the echoes of the soft "Sleep, Rest, Good Night" of the bugles still came faintly back from the distant hills. The sun was slowly sinking toward the west, lengthening the shadows, and the golden glory of its beams fell like a benediction on those seven flower-covered mounds of the heroes, under the flag they had so loved, when its stars were few, that they had given up all that humanity holds most dear, without a murmur, and had lain down their lives that they might transmit its glory, and all for which its stars and stripes stand symbol, to us, to our children and to our children's children forever.

APPENDIX

In Reverend David Craft's Historical Address, published in "General Sullivan's Indian Expedition, 1779," page 369, he gives partial lists of those of Boyd's little band that escaped and those who were killed.

Escaped :

Timothy Murphy	David Elerson
Edward McDonald	Garret Putnam
John Youse	

Those slain :

Nicholas Hungerman	James McElroy
John Conrey	John Miller
William Faughey	John Putnam
William Harvey	Benjamin Curtin
Hanyerry, the Oneida Chief	

FROM COMMON COUNCIL RECORDS, JULY 27, 1841.

By Alderman Southerin : Memorial from several military corps, and other citizens of Rochester, for an appropriation of a part of section R, Mount Hope, as a burial place for revolutionary soldiers.

Referred to committee on Mount Hope, with power to act as to any immediate interments.

Committee on Mount Hope : W. J. Southerin, Erasmus D. Smith, George Arnold.

The escort to Mount Hope was arranged as follows, but in reversed order :

Governor Seward, Chancellor Whittlesey
Adjutant-General Rufus King
Surgeon-General McNaughton
Major-General John A. Granger and

APPENDIX

Colonel George W. Bemis of Ontario county
Major-General Hestor L. Stevens
Brigadier-General Joseph Wood
Brigadier-General W. E. Lathrop
Colonel John Allen
Colonel E. Darwin Smith
Colonel Jason Bassett and Staff
Lieutenant-Colonel Goodhue
Major Amon Bronson
Major Samuel Richardson
Major William Churchill
C. H. Bryan, chairman, S. Treat, orator, and
W. H. Kelsey of Livingston County Committee
Chairman and Members of Rochester Committee
Mayor and Aldermen of the City of Rochester
Rev. Messrs. Tucker, Carlton and Tooker
Revolutionary Soldiers, Pall Bearers
The Hearse, Urn, etc.

COL. AMOS SAWYER, Marshal of the Day

WILLIAMS' LIGHT INFANTRY

Commissioned Officers

Major John Williams	Captain George A. Gibbs
First Lieutenant James Miller	Second Lieutenant J. C. Campbell

Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates

H. Shears, Jr.	E. Ide	J. K. Anderson
George R. Thomas	David McKay	Thomas T. Gilman
Henry C. Church	John B. Dewey	M. H. Swift
C. H. Sholtus	Timothy Dunn	H. Gaul
J. B. Lockwood	E. McGeara	H. McDonnell
M. Witbeck	Geo. W. Dingman	W. Putnam
F. H. Marshall	J. B. Southworth	Cornelius Fielding
William Jewell	C. Brown	F. W. Harris
Robert A. Hall	D. C. Roberts	W. Curtiss

APPENDIX

J. Putnam	James Henderson	E. Scoville
George Whitney	F. Henry Tucker	W. R. Gordon
J. M. Whitney	Charles C. Lunt	H. Grinnell
William C. Storrs	C. Bristol	Jacob Howe
F. F. Parker	Samuel Kershaw	C. F. Randolph

ROCHESTER UNION GRAYS

Commissioned Officers

Captain L. B. Swan

First Lieutenant W. H. Cheney	Second Lieutenant N. R. Child
First Lieutenant H. P. Dannals	Ensign Geo. W. Fisher

Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates

Ariel Wentworth	H. W. Bowker	J. Y. Dannals
Daniel Osborn	John Fairbanks	Charles Hubbell
Nicol Beard	C. C. Lathrop	E. B. Collins
William M. Hayes	P. P. Thayer	J. Graham Klinck
William H. Beach	Frederick Peck	James Wilkin
S. L. Wright	John Wegman	John H. Babcock
James Crouch	Mason A. Fisher	J. C. Hyatt
P. B. Loomis	J. Calhoun	V. R. Jackson
Heman Loomis	W. C. Brown	Amos Van Brunt
George F. Hall	O. Robinson	Alfred Judson
David Moody	S. Garbutt	T. D. Jackson
E. D. McKillip	E. W. Bryan	David H. Cantley
A. H. Huntley		

ROCHESTER CITY CADETS

Commissioned Officers

Captain Hiram A. Tucker

First Lieutenant James L. Elwood	Second Lieutenant D. M. Dewey
----------------------------------	-------------------------------

Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates

George B. Bingham	W. B. Howe	George Wells
I. W. Leonard	E. S. Church	W. W. Smith
Charles Winn	L. S. Hoyt	William Dumont

APPENDIX

E. J. Moore	B. E. Stevens	William W. Bruff
William Weyburn	J. O. Kilbourn	Charles Townsend
J. H. Fink	A. A. Schenck	C. W. Morgan
Adam McClure	J. H. Morrison	George Adams
Charles D. Robinson	Francis S. Rew	Isaac Messler
Geo. L. G. Seeyle	M. F. Stilwell	J. G. Stebbins
A. A. Bingham	Samuel Jillson	William P. Wilson
A. H. Ball	E. C. Johnson	J. S. Wilson
Thomas McGregor	H. M. Waterman	

GERMAN GRENADIERS

Commissioned Officers

Captain Peter Klein

First Lieutenant George Ellwanger Second Lieutenant A. Kiefer

Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates

P. Schweitzer	L. Franklin	L. Weiss
F. Kunzy	F. Lauer	G. Merklinger
R. Schneeberger	F. Heidacker	F. Hengen
G. Shale	J. Beggy	M. Huber
G. Neier	C. Aebersold	W. Gerber
J. Walter	G. Schirck	W. Maurer
E. Hock	J. Zeigler	R. Heid
B. Shoeffel	G. Dieterich	F. Foss
J. Weber	J. Henky	K. Listmann
F. Golsong	K. Knopf	

ROCHESTER ARTILLERY CORPS

Commissioned Officers

Captain Hiram Davis

First Lieutenant N. B. Ellison Second Lieutenant G. S. Jennings

Non-Commissioned Officers and Privates

John Wilson	Charles E. Jennings	Otis Potter
Edwin N. Brown	N. B. Gardner	Benjamin Gilbert
R. W. Underhill	Nathaniel Thompson	Thomas Gordon

APPENDIX

T. W. Van Vleck	Joseph Gilbert	Lewis Gilbert
Henry Alexander	Thomas Hurley	Thomas A. Jennings
Joseph Hawksworth	George Wilson	J. D. Potter
Peter P. Mellen	James Patterson	Lewis Trogue
James Howland	Henry Rice	

FIRE DEPARTMENT

FIRE ENGINE COMPANY NUMBER FOUR

Josiah W. Bissell, Foreman

H. Haight, First Assistant Foreman		H. F. Smith, Secretary
E. Brown, Second Assistant Foreman		T. Hawks, Standard Bearer
John T. Tallman	James Riley	F. F. Parker
Elijah F. Willson	George Riley	J. W. Arnold
Lucius Bell	Henry Riley	James Decker
E. K. Blyth	George Tobey	C. G. McKnight
Timothy B. Grant	B. F. Young	James W. Bingham
Newell A. Stone	F. Breck	Matthew Whitbeck
Samuel W. Haight	William Dumont	R. Allen
S. B. Williams	James Frink	J. M. Chappell
H. S. Fairchild	W. H. Perry	Augustus Pardee
J. Hawks, Jr.	J. M. Weeks	Jacob Strong
W. Y. Andrews	H. Granger	J. H. Hayes
James Gorsline	W. Anderson	J. Dawsey
N. F. Bradstreet	C. W. Carr	George Bixby
J. E. Murdock	E. J. Pratt	Jonathan Child
Albert L. Wakelee	J. D. Robinson	S. W. Dibble
James Covert	H. Jackson	James H. Goodman
William Riley		

FIRE ENGINE COMPANY NUMBER SIX

John I. Reilly, Foreman

John Cowles, Assistant Foreman	S. B. Langworthy, Secretary	
Junius Judson	J. E. Walker	A. M. Redding
M. B. Bateham	R. F. Warren	David Hyatt
Ira Haskins	D. L. Barhydt	John T. Fox

APPENDIX

James H. Kelly	G. W. Polly	William Andrews
William H. Burtiss	Francis Brown	A. Karnes
B. L. Soullard	D. P. Brown	T. B. Forsyth
Elijah Howard	U. B. Sheldon	Warren Burtis
Ira Justin	T. O. Dudley	James H. Benson
Thomas Cunnington	H. S. Brace	Samuel Palmer
Alonzo Bennet	Farrington Price	John Hinkston
W. L. Raymond	J. H. Halpin	F. H. Marshall
C. A. Bourgoin	James Cowles	A. G. Matlack
T. J. Langworthy	John Heaphy	Hiram Brush

FROM COMMON COUNCIL RECORDS, MAY 10, 1864.

(Page 34, Volume marked 1864-8.)

Presented by Alderman Cram from Mount Hope Committee.

The undersigned committee of Mount Hope Cemetery respectfully petition for authority to grade and improve the portion of the ground in said cemetery heretofore set apart by the Council for the burial of revolutionary soldiers, and also to sell that part of same not required for the purpose specified.

(Signed) WILLIAM BREWSTER.
HENRY BENDER.
J. E. PIERPONT.

By Alderman Cram :

Resolved, That the committee of Mount Hope be and are hereby authorized to grade and improve that portion of the ground in said cemetery heretofore set apart by the Council to be used for the burial of revolutionary soldiers, and also to sell that part of same not required for the purpose specified. Adopted.

At Mount Hope the following committee were present at the opening of the graves in section Y, October 31, 1903 :

Mrs. William E. Hoyt, Regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution ; Mrs. Frederick W. Yates, Mrs. Josephine G. Chappell, Mrs. George M. Elwood ; Mr. George May Elwood, representing the Sons of the American Revolution.

APPENDIX

STATE OF NEW YORK }
COUNTY OF MONROE } ss.

I, John W. Keller, of the City of Rochester, superintendent of Mount Hope Cemetery, do certify that the contents of the seven graves removed under my supervision and in the presence of the committee of the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, from section Y to lot No. 248, section BB, on the 31st of October, 1903, were the remains of the revolutionary soldiers which were transferred some years since from Patriot Hill, lot 85, section R.

(Signed) JOHN W. KELLER,
Superintendent of Mount Hope.

Subscribed and sworn before me this }
11th day of January, A. D. 1904. }

R. J. RULIFFSON,
Commissioner of Deeds.

STATE OF NEW YORK }
COUNTY OF MONROE } ss.

I, Patrick Gaffney, foreman of Mount Hope Cemetery, of the city of Rochester, N. Y., do certify that the contents of the seven graves removed in my presence and in the presence of the Committee of the Sons and Daughters of the American Revolution, from section Y to lot 248, section BB, on the 31st of October, 1903, were the remains of the revolutionary soldiers which were transferred some years since from Patriot Hill, lot No. 85, section R.

(Signed) PATRICK GAFFNEY,
Foreman, Mount Hope Cemetery.

Subscribed and sworn before me this }
11th day of January, A. D. 1904. }

R. J. RULIFFSON,
Commissioner of Deeds.

The deed of lot No. 248, section BB, is deposited with the Rochester Chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution.

MAR 8 1904

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